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Port Defiance Centennial,

August 7, 8 and 9, 1894.

Historical Souvenir

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... OF ...

Port Defiance

... AND ...

The Northwest Territory.

1894



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MAJOR GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE.

TO

The Order of Anthony Wayne,

THE

Laudable Object of Which Organization is
to Keep Green the Memory of the

~~~~~  
Heroic Soldier, Anthony Wayne,  
~~~~~

AND

To Re-consecrate, by Loyal, Loving Service, the
Spots Made Sacred by his Patriotic Devotion

One Hundred Years and More Ago.

This Volume is Dedicated.

PREFACE.

This modest volume is a compilation made principally from Howe's History of Ohio, Knapp's History of the Maumee Valley, the work of Charles J. Stille, President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, entitled "Major General Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line," and manuscript accessible to the compilers.

The design has been to present to the reader a brief outline of the troublous times on the American frontier, prior to, and including General Wayne's campaign in 1794 in the narrowest possible compass.

If this result has, in the following pages, been accomplished we are satisfied.

WILLIAM CARTER,
HENRY G. BAKER.



RC-1438

EARLY HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

Famed in song and story, the beautiful Maumee, or, the "Miami of the Lakes," flows its even course to its outlet, Lake Erie. Its verdure clad banks now echo no sound more harsh than the voice of multiplied industry by day, and the peaceful hum of contented civilization by night. Phantoms of a century ago float before us, picturing savage scenes of barbaric cruelty, or the peaceful wigwam of the semi-civilized redman; but we awake from the dream to view a country, mapped upon whose surface is a new picture, of peace and plenty, made so by the brain and brawn of artisan, mechanic and husbandman. Calmly like a mistress of the scene, sits Fort Defiance, at the confluence of the Maumee and Auglaize, witnessing the wedding of their placid waters. Nature, often lavish in her gifts, has blessed this spot, so often the theme of the artist and inspiration of the poet. The Great Spirit of the ages, implanted in the savage breast an appreciation of the beauty of the streams, the fertility of the valleys, and commanding position of the site, a century later to be loved, admired and blessed by a higher and better civilization.

In the year 1680 was undertaken the first settlement of that portion of the United States now forming the jurisdiction of Ohio. Prudence in all instances, dictated fortifications as a shelter against savage foes surrounding these settlements. In the Autumn of this year, the brave and intrepid La Salle erected at the confluence of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph rivers, on ground now occupied by Fort Wayne a fortification of which he retained possession for a short period.

In 1679 the Count de Frontenac, Governor of Canada, pressed upon the Monarch of the French the advisability of erecting forts and trading posts along the lakes and rivers of the then western frontier, and though his advice was unheeded, Frontenac, full of energy and ability, proceeded upon these lines to take possession of the country in the name of his government. We are informed that one of the parties sent forth by this French representative in 1680 erected a small stockade somewhere below Maumee City, which afterwards becoming an

important trading point, was finally abandoned for a more desirable location at or near the city of Fort Wayne.

In 1690 Count de Frontenac was desired by the French Monarch to secure and maintain the supremacy of the French Government upon the Western boundaries previously established by the Governor in 1679. The expression of this desire of the French Government at this time was due largely to the fact of war having broken out between England and France.

English traders first began to establish themselves permanently in the West in 1698 and 1699. The following year, the French, not to be encroached upon in their acquired territory, together with their Indian allies began to breathe forth threatenings against the encroaching English, the result of which was much bad feeling, which in later years was the cause of untold trouble to the English.

In the year 1700 the Iroquois, after years of bitter hostility, made a treaty with the French, by which the missionaries and traders were allowed in all portions of the western country.

About this same time it is said that a party of factors from Detroit built a small trading post where Toledo now stands. From the last named date, to as late as 1716, constant negotiations with the different Indian tribes were carried on by the English and French, looking to their active support and co-operation in obtaining control of, or maintaining the possession and supremacy that either had from time to time obtained by their former settlements. In 1716 the English sent agents among the Ohio Indians, over whom the French had obtained control, seeking an alliance; but notwithstanding pleasant speeches and gifts presented, were unsuccessful. In 1720 French traders were in active operation on the Ohio River. In 1722 a treaty was made at Albany, New York, the contracting parties being the Iroquois and English, by which lands west of the Alleghany mountains were acknowledged to be in the possession of the Iroquois, by reason of their conquests over other Indian tribes.

Baron de Longueuil, who was made Governor of Canada in 1725, shortly afterwards stated that the English had built some houses and stores on a small stream flowing into the Wabash, where they traded with the Miamis and Ouyatanons. Later in the year 1728 Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor of Canada, advised the erection of a fort on the South shore of Lake Erie, to serve as Winter quarters for vessels he then proposed to build upon the lake, his idea being, the English would be prevented from sending canoes loaded with brandy and merchandise to the head of Lake Erie. His

recommendation was ignored by the French King. Pamphlets were issued in London in 1729, urging the planting of colonies by the English Government in the Western country, and a year later, strong pressure was brought to bear upon the ministers in England, urging the advantages to accrue to the British Government by obtaining control of that portion of America west of the mountains. In 1731 a commissioner, by the direction of the Governor of Canada, visited the Shawanese, located upon the Ohio and its branches, desiring to secure their friendship and alliance. Vincennes upon the Ohio was destroyed by the savages in 1736. Three years later, M. de Longueuil constructed a road from Detroit to the Ohio River, which crossed the Maumee at the foot of the rapids, being thereafter a much used thoroughfare between those points. In 1747 a conspiracy, headed by Chief Nicholas of the Hurons, in which were joined many of the strong tribes of the western country, was formed for the capture of Detroit, and the upper French posts, and also having for its object the breaking of French dominion and authority in the west.

It is said that every Indian nation, excepting those of the Illinois country, was a party to the conspiracy, and entered into the work thereof aggressively; plans were well laid and the most subtle strategy employed to obtain possession of the posts and massacre the inhabitants. Fortunately the plot was discovered in time to avert the terrible catastrophe. The relations of France and England, each of which was jealous of the other's encroachments upon the coveted territory, brought about in 1754 a conflict between the two countries, but war was not declared until two years later. A proposition was made by the French government to the British, to settle their grievances by restoring the western country to the same condition it was in before 1745. Later a reply was received from the English that the west of North America must be left as it was before the peace of Utrecht. To this response France, answering said, that the old claims in America were not tenable, and tendered as a compromise that the English vacate that portion of the territory west of the Alleghenies, they, the French, to remain in possession of that portion west of the Ohio river. This proposal was agreed to by the English, upon condition that the French should demolish all their forts on the Ohio and its branches. The latter condition, the French declined to accede to, and thereupon negotiations ended. The war between France and England terminated finally in the treaty of Paris, in 1763, which gave to England all the territory east of the Mississippi, except two small islands south of Newfoundland, and the former Spanish territory of Florida.

Pontiac, the great Chief of the Ottawas, who it is claimed by historians was born upon the site of Fort Defiance, was opposed to English dominion, but the French were in high favor with him. A federation was formed by this wily chieftan of all the Indian tribes, extending from the northern lakes to the frontiers of North Carolina, the object of which was to fall upon the whole line of British posts and annihilate the white inhabitants. Under the leadership of this powerful chieftain hostile feelings thitherto existing between the tribes were buried, and union in this gigantic enterprise was general, Pontiac's war cry being "Why do you suffer these dogs in red clothing to enter your country and take the land I have given you? Drive them from it! Drive them! When you are in distress I will help you." While the results of this coalition were brutal and far reaching in the extreme, yet the work accomplished by the Indians was not allowed to attain the magnitude desired by Pontiac. Traders everywhere were seized, their wares taken from them; scores of them were put to death; nine British forts fell easy prey; the gory struggle was made very much more atrocious in that the captors drank of the blood of their victims. Among the forts taken was Fort Miami upon the Maumee.

Of the English fortresses in the west, Forts Detroit, Pitt and Niagara were the most important, and those the confederated tribes had failed to attack. The failure to attack these points of vantage was a source of discouragement to the tribes. Dissension sprang up among them which threatened the life of the coalition and the ultimate downfall of the plot.

Among the tribes participating under the leadership of Pontiac, were the Chippewas, Ottawas, Wyandots, Miamis, Shawnees Delawares and Mingoes. A treaty was finally made with Pontiac at Presque Isle August 6th, 1764. In 1765 George Croghan, of Pennsylvania, a sub-commissioner of Sir William Johnston, made a visit to the west, his object being the establishment of more friendly relations between the English and the more distant western tribes, and found the Miamis and other tribes inclined to friendly feelings toward the British. In 1761 Frederick Post, a courageous Moravian missionary, first visited Ohio, and the following spring, in connection with his co-laborer Heckwelder, began the task of educating and converting the Indians to the Christian faith, the objects of his labor being the Indians of the Muskingum. Later on, in the same year he was warned to leave the country in view of impending war. A similar mission was established late in 1767 near Allegheny, and though the work was met by strong opposi-

tion, their efforts were crowned with the conversion of many of the leading Indians. In 1772 Treisberger, with twenty-seven of his native disciples, established Shoenbrunn on the Muskingum, which is said to have been the first Christian settlement in Ohio. To this place removed the Christian Indians of the Susquehanna and Big Beaver.

Peace and prosperity smiled upon them, but during the wars between the northwest savages and Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiersmen, these Christian disciples were subjects of suspicion and jealousy, so much so that in 1779 active measures were taken to remove them from the American borders. In 1765, the tribes abandoned their towns on the great Miami and settled on the Maumee, St. Joseph and Wabash rivers, and established thriving villages. Heckewelder states that the "Miami of the lake," at the Junction of the Auglaize with that river, was the place of abode and refuge in 1781 for a remnant of of the Moravian Christian Indians, after the massacre on the Muskingum. In 1780 during the war of the Revolution an expedition under Col. Byrd fitted out at Detroit, consisting of six hundred men, including Indians and Canadians, with two pieces of artillery, destined for the invasion of Kentucky, took Auglaize on their route, and it is inferred erected a stockade here and rested thereat both going to and returning from Detroit."

In 1781 great hardship and cruelty were inflicted upon the Christian missionaries, death often resulting therefrom, and strange to say, in 1782 some of the Moravians, to the number of about forty men, twenty women and thirty-four children, who had been driven from their former homes, returning to claim the portable property left behind them, were murdered in cold blood by a party of Americans. Still another expedition was at once organized against the Moravian Delawares and Wyandots upon the Sandusky, led by Col. William Crawford over whom floated the black flag, and whose battle cry was "No quarters." Crawford was defeated and subsequently died at the stake.

From a very early time Defiance has been an important historical point. It was the site of the ancient Tu-en-da-wie of the Wyandot, and En-sa-woc-sa of the Shawnee. It became and was the heart of the Indian Nations, the great center to which the races came to live and trade and counsel. Its fertile valleys gave promise of reward to the husbandman, the situation charmed the eye, and here was held the greatest Indian councils ever held upon the American continent.

After the cessation of hostilities between the English and the colonies, in 1783, the savages continued to keep up depredations upon the frontier.

How to open up the country and free it from Indian hostilities became the study of the ablest statesmen of the time. Emigration began to force its way across the Alleghenies, only to meet with barbarous cruelty at the hands of ambushed foes. President Washington became solicitous in the extreme and urged the necessity for compact settlements, suggesting stringent laws against settling upon the surveyed lands west of the line which might extend from the mouth of the Great Miami to Mad river, thence to Fort Miami, thence northward so as to include Detroit, or perhaps from the Fort down to Lake Erie; suggesting also the propriety of excluding Indian agents from all share in the trade with the red men and prohibiting the purchase of lands from the Indians except by congress or state legislation. Unless these or similar measures were taken he prophesied renewed violent border wars.

On the 22nd of September, 1763, Congress, in pursuance of these suggestions, forbid the purchase of or the settlement on any lands, and the commissioners sent to treat with the natives were instructed first to require the delivery of all prisoners; second, to inform the Indians of the boundaries between the British possessions and the United States; third, to dwell upon the fact that the red men had not been faithful to their agreements; fourth, to negotiate for all the land east of the line proposed by Washington, namely: from the mouth of the Great Miami to Mad River, thence to Fort Miami on the Maumce, thence down the Maumee to the lake: fifth, to hold, if possible, one convention with all the tribes; sixth, to learn all they could about the French, the Kaskaskia, etc.; seventh, to confirm no grants by the natives to individuals; ninth, to look after American stragglers beyond Ohio, to signify the displeasure of Congress at the invasion of the Indian lands and to prevent all further intrusions.

Upon the 9th of the following March, the fourth and fifth of these instructions were entirely changed, at the suggestion of the committee headed by Mr. Jefferson, the western boundary line being made to run due north from the lowest point on the falls of the Ohio, the northern limits of the United States, the commissioners being told to treat with the natives at various places and at different times.

The treaty of 1783, which terminated the war of the Revolution included Ohio within the boundaries of the United States, and the 7th article of that treaty agreed that the king of Great Britain would "with all convenient speed withdraw all his forces, garrisons and fleets from the United States, and from every post, place and harbor within the same." It is true, however, that military posts or garrisons were

maintained by the British inside of the boundaries agreed upon for many years after that date.

Preparatory to taking possession of the territory and in order to avoid bad feeling and collision with the Indian tribes who owned the soil, treaties were made with them from time to time by which they ceded to the United States the title to their lands. The United States government, though having the title to these lands, were by a species of trickery deprived of the use and benefit of the same by the British government, the latter urging as an excuse therefor the failure of the Americans to fulfill that part of the treaty protecting the claims of British subjects against citizens of the United States, but the subsequent aid and comfort given the tribes by the British showed the insincerity of the claim, the real reasons for withholding the American rights to these lands being a desire to continue in control of all the territory north of the river Ohio, thereby securing to the British the fur and other trade which they possessed therein.

That portion of the territory north of the Ohio river upon the western boundary, south and east of the Mississippi river was, in 1787, created the Northwest Territory. Toward the close of the period, immediately preceeding its organization, Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia had extended to the Mississippi. This was the first attempt at the organization of territorial government in the American system.

CHAPTER II.

HARMAR'S CAMPAIGN.

This leads us up to the spirited campaign of 1790, '91 and '94. A short time prior to 1790, the Indian warfare, which had been upon the part of the Indians of a desultory character assumed a more forbidding and determined aspect. Formerly there does not seem to have been a concerted effort to stamp out the encroachments of the white man, but in their minds sentiment was fast crystalizing that a determined stand must be made in order that the ambitious American should be expelled from the territory. When they found the white settlers entrenching themselves in strong fortresses, encroaching more and more upon their favorite hunting grounds, pressing them further and further toward the setting sun, the Indians inspired by the British, who still encroached upon the territory acquired by Americans by treaty, resolved if possible to make a determined stand for race supremacy. Treaty after treaty had been made between the Indians and Americans, looking to the protection of the frontier, only to be broken.

The American Government, then just going into operation, sent to the frontier three hundred and twenty regular troops, enlisted in New Jersey and Pennsylvania for the protection of the settlers, the command of which devolved upon Josiah Harmar, who had borne arms as a superior officer during the Revolutionary struggle. Another army of 1133 drafted militia of Pennsylvania and Kentucky was also placed under Harmar's command. The regulars consisted of two battalions commanded respectively by Majors Wyllye and Doty and a company of artillery under Capt. Ferguson, with three pieces of ordnance. Col. Hardin of Kentucky was in command of the militia in which Colonels Trotter and Paul, and Majors Hall and McMillan held subordinate commands. General Hamar's orders were to march on to the Indian towns bordering the lakes and inflict on them such punishment as should protect the settlements from their further depredations. This plan it seems had been advised by Washington himself, who was not unfamiliar with Indian character, as well as of the condition of the western country. The wisdom of Washington in the selection of Hamar and his subsequent selection of St. Clair had been questioned, inasmuch as these appointees were men unfamiliar with border warfare, while so many practical Indian fighters were to be had. General Hamar ar-

rived at Cincinnati, December 29th, 1789. He had been stationed for some months prior at the mouth of the Muskingum, awaiting supplies and further militia forces, and the completion of Ft Washington, then in process of construction by Major Doty. His time was employed in making ready for the expedition until September 30th, 1790, upon which day he started for the frontier with the regulars, the militia under Col. Hardin having preceded them. On the 12th day of October he reached the head waters of the Auglaize near Loramie's Creek. Upon the next day he was joined by reinforcement from Cincinnati with ammunition. Upon the 14th Col. Hardin was sent forward with a detachment of one company of regulars, and six hundred militia. They proceeded in advance of the main body, their mission being the destruction of the towns at the forks of the Maumee. Upon the arrival of this detachment at their destination they found the towns abandoned by the Indians and in part burned. Hamar proceeded on his course, and joined Hardin at the village now called Hamar's Ford, being the same town burned and abandoned by the savages. Seven villages are said to have been located at or about the forks of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph. All the houses of the villages were burned by the army; also, many thousand bushels of corn discovered in various hiding places; also property belonging to French traders. On the 18th the main body of the troops was moved to Chillicothe, the principal town of the Shawanese, General Hamar having before that time detached a party of militia and regulars in pursuit of the Indians who had disappeared to the west across the St. Joseph after the burning by themselves of Omeetown. Capt. John Armstrong, was in command of the regulars, and Col. Trotter of the Kentucky militia of the entire detachment.

They overtook and cut off a few Indian stragglers, but did not overtake the main body, being recalled to camp by signal late in the evening. The next morning the same detachment was sent out anew under command of Col. Hardin, who pursued the same route in search of the savages. He soon found himself in the vicinity of the enemy and detached Capt. Faulkner of the Pennsylvania militia to form on his left, which he did at such distance as to render his company of no service in the engagement about to be had. The command under Hardin pressed forward toward the encampment of the Indians which was flanked by a dense morass on each side as well as by one in front; this was quickly crossed by the troops, which now were reduced to less than two hundred men, but before they had time to form, an unexpected fire was received by them from a large body of savages. The militia were thrown into consternation. The advance being so suddenly checked, a general flight was the result. All efforts of the officers

in command being unavailing to rally them, fifty-two of the retreating Americans, were left behind the retreating column. The enemy pursued until Major Fountain, who had been sent to hunt up Faulkner and his company, returning with them, compelled the Indians to retire, and thus the survivors of the detachment arrived safe in camp. The regulars under Armstrong bore the brunt of this affair, his loss being one sargeant and twenty-one privates. The exact number of savages engaged in this conflict is unknown, but is estimated by one authority at about one hundred, and by another about seven hundred. The Indians had the advantage of position, added to which, cowardice has been imputed to the militia. This battlefield was located about twelve miles west of the site of Fort Wayne.

On the 21st the army left its position, intent upon return to Ft. Washington. Col. Hardin arrived at Omeetown early in the morning of the 22nd. Prior to this time his force had been divided into two parties, the left division of which was to have formed down the St. Mary's and cross at the ford, after which they were to rest until daylight and cross the St. Joseph and commence an attack on the Indians in front who had camped on or near the ruins of their town.

The right division was under Hardin and Wyllys, and were to proceed to Hamar's Ford on the Maumee, was to remain until McMillan had reached the river, and commenced the attack which was to be the signal, for them to cross the Maumee and attack the Indians in the rear. McMillan, however lost his way in the thickets, due to the treachery or ignorance of the guides, and travelling all night did not reach the ford until daylight. The Indians encamping about the ruins of their town, discovered Hardin's men and began to rally for the fight. Hardin discovering that unless he crossed immediately, he would be compelled to do it in the face of superior numbers, and expecting momentarily to be reinforced by McMillan's forces, gave orders to cross the river; but before two thirds of his forces could mass upon the opposite side, the battle was on.

The engagement was hotly contested, the savages being desperate in the extreme. The greater part throwing down their arms, rushed madly into the poised bayonets of the soldiers, tomahawk in hand, rendering everything useless but the rifles of the militia, and carrying destruction everywhere in their advance.

During this time Indian riflemen were busily engaged picking off the officers. Majors Faulkner and Wyllys were killed in the engagement, while fifty one of Wyllys' regular soldiers shared his fate. McMillan's force arrived too late to be of service, except to enable the

troops remaining to retire in comparative good order. And thus, after a signal defeat, Harmar returned to Ft. Washington, arriving there November 3d. His military career was, by his own action and choice, terminated. He died about 1803 on the banks of the Schuylkill.

In this last serious engagement, so disastrous to the American cause, the sagacious, wily, statesmanlike Little Turtle was chief in command of the Indians.

CHAPTER III.

ST. CLAIR'S CAMPAIGN.

This disastrous defeat thoroughly alarmed the government, and active steps were at once taken to retrieve the ground lost by its arms. The solicitude of Washington may be seen in the voluminous instructions given Gen. Arthur St. Clair at the time of his commission as major general. It was the idea of the commander-in-chief to establish a chain of military posts, extending from Fort Washington to the head of the Maumee. Among the instructions received by St. Clair was the following :

"In the execution of the duties of your station, circumstances which cannot now be foreseen, may arise to render material deviations necessary. Such circumstances will require the exercise of your talents. The government possesses a guarantee in your character and mature experience, that your judgement will be proper on all occasions. You are well informed of the unfavorable impressions which the issue of the last expedition has made on the public mind, and you are also aware of the expectations which are formed of the success of the ensuing campaign.

"An Indian war, under any circumstances, is regarded by the great mass of the people of the United States, as an event which ought, if possible, to be avoided. It is considered that the sacrifices of blood and treasure in such a war far exceed any advantages which can possibly be reaped by it. The great policy, therefore, of the general government is to establish a just and liberal peace with the Indian tribes within the limits and in the vicinity of the territory of the United States. Your intimations to the hostile Indians, immediately after the late expedition through the Wyandots and Delawares, the arrangements with the Senecas, who were lately in this city, that part of the Six Nations should repair to the said hostile Indians, to influence them to pacific measures ; together with the recent mission of Col. Procter, for the same purpose, will strongly evince the desire of the general government to prevent the effusion of blood, and to quiet all disturbances. And when you shall arrive upon the frontiers, if any other or further measures to effect the same object should present, you will eagerly embrace them, and the reasonable expenses thereof shall be defrayed by the public. But if all the lenient measures taken, or which may be taken, should fail to bring the hostile Indians to a just sense of their situation, it will be necessary that you should use such coercive means as you shall possess, for that purpose. It is contemplated that the mass of the regulars and levies may be recruited and rendezvous at Fort Washington, by the 10th of July. In this case you will have assembled a force of three thousand effectives at least, besides leaving small garrisons on the Ohio in order to perform your main expedition, hereinafter mentioned. But, in the meantime, if the Indians refuse to listen to the messengers of peace sent to them, it is most probable they will, unless prevented, spread themselves along the line of frontiers, for the purpose of committing all the depredations in their power.

"In order to avoid so calamitous an event, Brigadier-General Charles Scott, of Kentucky, has been authorized by me, on the part of the President of the United States, to make an expedition against the Wea or Quiatanon towns with mounted volunteers or militia from Kentucky, not exceeding the number of seven hundred and fifty, officers included. You wi-

perceive by the instructions to Brigadier-General Scott that it is confided to your discretion, whether there should be more than one of the said expeditions of mounted volunteers or militia. Your nearer view of the objects to be effected by a second desultory expedition, will enable you to form a better judgement than can at present be formed at this distance. The propriety of a second operation would, in some degree, depend on the alacrity and good composition of the troops of which the first may have been formed; of its success; of the probable effects a second similar blow would have upon the Indians, with respect to its influencing them to peace; or, if they should be still hostilely disposed, of preventing them from desolating the frontiers by their parties.

"You will observe in the instructions to Brigadier-General Scott, which are to serve as a basis for the instructions of the commanders who may succeed him, that all captives are to be treated with great humanity. It will be sound policy to attract the Indians by kindness, after demonstrating to them our power to punish them, on all occasions. While you are making such use of desultory operations as in your judgment the occasion may require, you will proceed vigorously, in every operation in your power, for the purpose of the main expedition; and having assembled your force, and all things being in readiness, if no decisive indications of peace should have been produced, either by the messengers, or by the desultory operations, you will commence your march for the Miami village, in order to establish a strong and permanent military post at that place. In your advance you will establish such posts of communication with Ft. Washington, on the Ohio, as you may judge proper. The post at the Miami village is intended for the purpose of awing and curbing the Indians in that quarter, and as the only preventive of future hostilities. It ought, therefore, to be rendered secure against all attempts and insults of the Indians. The garrison which should be stationed there ought not only to be sufficient for the defense of the place, but always to afford a detachment of five or six hundred men, either to chastise any of the Wabash, or other hostile Indians, or to secure any convoy of provisions. The establishment of such a post is considered as an important object of the campaign, and is to take place in all events. In case of a previous treaty, the Indians are to be conciliated upon this point, if possible; and it is presumed good arguments may be offered to induce their acquiescence. The situation, nature, and construction of the works you may direct, will depend upon your own judgment. Major Ferguson, of the artillery, will be fully capable of the execution. He will be furnished with three five and a half inch howitzers, three six pounders, and three three pounders, all brass, with a sufficient quantity of shot and shells for the purpose of the expedition. The appropriation of these pieces will depend upon your orders.

"Having commenced your march upon the main expedition and the Indians continuing hostile, you will use every possible exertion to make them feel the effects of your superiority; and after having arrived at the Miami village, and put your works in a defensible state, you will seek the enemy with the whole of your remaining force, and endeavor, by all possible means, to strike them with great severity. It will be left to your discretion whether to employ, if attainable, any Indians of the Six Nations, and the Chickasaws or other Northern nations. Most probably the employment of about fifty of each, under the direction of some discreet and able chief, would be advantageous, but these ought not to be assembled before the line of march was taken up, because they are soon tired, and will not be detained.

"The force contemplated for the garrison of the Miami village and the communications has been from a thousand to twelve hundred non-commissioned officers and privates. This is mentioned as a general idea, to which you will adhere, or from which you will deviate, as circumstances may require. The garrison stationed at the Miami village, and its communications, must have in store at least six months' good salted meat, and flour in proportion.

"It is hardly possible, if the Indians continue hostile, that you will be suffered quietly to establish a post at the Miami village; conflicts, therefore, may be expected; and it is to be presumed that disciplined valor will triumph over the undisciplined Indians.

"In this event it is probable that the Indians will sue for peace. If this should be the case, the dignity of the United States will require that the terms should be liberal. In order to void future wars, it might be proper to make the Wabash, and thence over to the Miami, and down the same to its mouth, at Lake Erie, the boundary, excepting so far as the same should relate to the Wyandots and Delawares, on the supposition of their continuing faithful to the treaties.

"But if they should join in the war against the United States, and your army be victorious, the said tribes ought to be removed without the boundary mentioned. You will also judge whether it would be proper to extend the boundary, from the mouth of the river at the Pause of the Wabash, in a due west line to the Mississippi. Few Indians, besides the Kickapoos, would be affected by such a line; this ought to be tenderly managed. The modification of the boundary must be confided to your discretion, with this single observation, that the policy and interest of the United States dictate their being at peace with the Indians. This is of more value than millions of uncultivated acres, the right to which may be conceded by some, and disputed by others. The establishment of a post at the Miami village, will probably be regarded, by the British officers on the frontier as a circumstance of jealousy.

"It may, therefore, be necessary that you should, at a proper time, make such intimations as may remove all such dispositions. This intimation had better follow than precede the possession of the post, unless circumstances dictate otherwise. As it is not the inclination or interest of the United States to enter into a contest with Great Britain, every measure tending to any discussion or altercation must be prevented. The delicate situation of affairs may, therefore, render it improper at present to make any naval arrangement upon Lake Erie. After you shall have effected all the injury to the hostile Indians of which your force may be capable, and after having established the posts and garrisons at the Miami village and its communications, and placing the same under the orders of an officer worthy of such high trust, you will return to Fort Washington on the Ohio."

Armed with these minute and particular instructions, shining forth from which was that humanity which was the crowning glory of Washington's career, St. Clair proceeded in great haste to execute his commission, reaching Pittsburg where the soldiery, horses and supplies were being gathered, near the first of May. He arrived at Ft. Washington, May 15th, finding the means of carrying his instructions into execution scant, indeed. Two hundred and sixty-four non-commissioned officers and privates comprehended the force available. After two months delay at this place, he was reinforced by two hundred and ninety-nine men of the first regiment, also a few of General Butler's recruits; but money and supplies of all kinds were scarce, and long inactivity of the soldiers had brought about demoralization and intemperance, necessitating the removal of the army to Ludlow station, six miles from Ft. Washington.

September 17th, the army numbering twenty three hundred moved forward and constructed, on the Great Miami, Fort Hamilton, forty miles further to the north. Upon October 12th, was built Fort Jefferson, about six miles south of Greenville, in Darke county.

They advanced still further northward through an almost impenetrable wilderness, over impassable roads, suffering by reason of insufficient rations, and sickness, and desertion in great numbers until upon November 3rd, when they reached a branch of the Wabash, a little south of the St. Mary's, for which St. Clair mistook the stream; a spot which in 1794 was to become famous as the location of Ft. Recovery, now in Mercer county.

The details of the encampment here, and the terrible defeat experienced by St. Clair, are taken from his letter forwarded the Secretary of War from Ft. Washington, upon his return thereto :

"The right wing, composed of Butler's, Clark's and Patterson's battalions, commanded by Major General Butler, formed the first line; and the left wing, consisting of Bedinger's and Gaither's battalions, and the second regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Darke, formed the second line, with an interval between them of about seventy yards, which was all the ground would allow. The right flank was pretty well secured by the creek; a steep bank and Faulkner's corps, some of the cavalry, and their picquets covered the left flank. The militia were thrown over the creek, and advanced about a quarter of a mile, and encamped in the same order. There were a few Indians who appeared on the opposite side of the creek, but fled with the utmost precipitation, on the advance of the militia. At this place, which I judged to be about fifteen miles from the Miami village, I determined to throw up a slight work, the plan of which was concerted that evening with Major Ferguson, wherein to have deposited the men's knapsacks, and everything else that was not of absolute necessity, and to have moved on to attack the enemy as soon as the first regiment was come up. But they did not permit me to execute either; for, on the 4th, about half an hour before sunrise, and when the men had just been dismissed from parade (for it was a constant practice to have them all under arms a considerable time before daylight,) an attack was made upon the militia. These gave way in a very little time, and rushed into camp through Major Butler's battalion (which, together with a part of Clark's, they threw into considerable disorder, and which, notwithstanding the exertions of both those officers, was never altogether remedied,) the Indians following close at their heels. The fire, however, of the front line checked them; but almost instantly a very heavy attack began upon that line; and in a few minutes it was extended to the second likewise. The great weight of it was directed against the center of each, where the artillery was placed, and from which the men were repeatedly driven with great slaughter. Finding no great effect from our fire, and confusion beginning to spread from the great number of men who were falling in all quarters, it became necessary to try what could be done by the bayonet. Lieutenant-Colonel Darke was accordingly ordered to make a charge with part of the second line, and to turn the left flank of the enemy. This was executed with great spirit. The Indians instantly gave way, and were driven back three or four hundred yards; but for want of a sufficient number of riflemen to pursue this advantage, they soon returned, and the troops were obliged to give back in their turn. At this moment they had entered our camp by the left flank, having pushed back the troops that were posted there. Another charge was made here by the second regiment, Butler's and Clark's battalions, with equal effect, and it was repeated several times, and always with success; but in all of them many men were lost, and particularly the officers, which, with so raw troops, was a loss altogether irremediable. In that I just spoke of made by the second regiment and Butler's battalion, Major Butler was dangerously wounded, and every officer of the second regiment fell except three, one of whom, Mr. Greaton, was shot through the body.

"Our artillery being now silenced, and all the officers killed except Captain Ford,

who was very badly wounded, and more than half of the army fallen, being cut off from the road it became necessary to attempt the regaining it, and to make a retreat, if possible. To this purpose the remains of the army was formed as well as circumstances would admit, towards the right of the encampment from which, by the way of the second line, another charge was made upon the enemy, as if with the design to turn their right flank, but, in fact, to gain the road. This was effected, and as soon as it was open, the militia took along it, followed by the troops: Major Clarke with his battalion, covering the rear.

The retreat, in those circumstances was, you may be sure, a very precipitate one. It as, in fact, a flight. The camp and artillery were abandoned; but that was unavoidable: for not a horse was left alive to have drawn it off, had it otherwise been possible. But the most disgraceful part of the business is, that the greater part of the men threw away their arms and accoutrements, even after the pursuit, which continued about four miles, had ceased. I found the road strewed with them for many miles, but was not able to remedy it; for, having had all my horses killed, and being mounted upon one that could not be pricked out of a walk, could not get forward myself; and the orders I sent forward, either to halt the front, or to prevent the men from parting with their arms, were unattended to. The route continued quite to Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles, which was reached a little after sun-setting. The action began about half an hour before sunrise, and the retreat was attempted at half an hour after nine o'clock. I have not yet been able to get returns of the killed and wounded; but Major General Butler, Lieutenant Colonel Oldham, of the militia, Major Ferguson, Major Hart, and Major Clarke, are among the former; Colonel Sargeant, my Adjutant General, Lieutenant Colonel Darke, Lieutenant Colonel Gibson, Major Butler and the Viscount Malartie, who served me as an Aid-de-camp are among the latter; and a great number of captains and subalterns in both."

"I have now, sir, finished my melancholy tale—a tale that will be felt sensibly by everyone who has sympathy for private distress, or for public misfortune. I have nothing, sir, to lay to the charge of the troops, but their want of discipline, which, from the short time they had been in service, it was impossible they should have acquired, and which rendered it very difficult, when they were thrown into confusion, to reduce them again to order, and is one reason why the loss has fallen so heavily on the officers, who did everything in their power to effect it. Neither were my own exertions wanting, but, worn down with illness, and suffering under a painful disease, unable either to mount or dismount a horse without assistance, they were not so great as they otherwise would, and perhaps ought to have been. We were overpowered by numbers, but it is no more than justice to observe, that, though composed of so many different species of troops, the utmost harmony prevailed through the army during the campaign.

"At Fort Jefferson I found the first regiment, which had returned from the service they had been sent upon, without either overtaking the deserters, or meeting the convoy of provisions. I am not certain, sir, whether I ought to consider the absence of this regiment from the field of action, as fortunate or otherwise. I incline to think it was fortunate, for, I very much doubt whether, had it been in the action, the fortune of the day had been turned; and, if it had not, the triumph of the enemy would have been more complete, and the country would have been destitute of every means of defence. Taking a view of the situation of our broken troops at Fort Jefferson, and that there was no provision in the fort, I called upon the field officers, viz.: Lieutenant Colonel Darke, Major Hamtramck, Major Zeigler and Major Gather, together with the Adjutant General (Winthrop Sargent) for their advice what would be proper further to be done; and it was their unanimous opinion, that the addition of the first regiment, unbroken as it was, did not put the army on so respectable a foot as it was in the morning, because a great part of it was now unarmed; that it had been then found unequal to the enemy, and should they come on, which was possible, would be found so again; that the troops could not be thrown into the fort, both because it was too small, and that there were no provisions in it; that provisions were

known to be upon the road, at the distance of one, or at most, two marches; that therefore, it would be more proper to move without loss of time, to meet the provisions, when the men might the soonest have an opportunity of some refreshment, and that a proper detachment might be sent back with it to have it safely deposited in the fort.

"This advice was accepted and the army was put in motion at ten o'clock, and marched all night, and the succeeding day met a quantity of flour. Part of it was distributed immediately, part taken back to supply the army on the march to Fort Hamilton, and the remainder, about fifty horse-loads, sent forward to Fort Jefferson. The next day a drove of cattle was met with for the same place, and I have information that both got in. The wounded, who had been left at that place, were ordered to be brought to Fort Washington by the return horses.

"I have said, sir, in a former part of this letter that we were overpowered by numbers. Of that, however, I have no other evidence but the weight of the fire, which was always a most deadly one, and generally delivered from the ground—few of the enemy showing themselves afoot except when they were charged; and that in a few minutes our whole camp, which extended about three hundred and fifty yards in length, was entirely surrounded and attacked on all quarters. The loss, sir, the public has sustained by the fall of so many officers, particularly General Butler, and Major Ferguson, cannot be too much regretted; but it is a circumstance that will alleviate the misfortune in some measure, that all of them fell most gallantly doing their duty. I have had very particular obligations to many of them, as well as to the survivors, but to none more than Colonel Sargent. He has discharged the various duties of his office with zeal, with exactness, and with intelligence, and on all occasions afforded me every assistance in his power, which I have also experienced from my Aid-de-Camp, Lieutenant Denny, and the Viscount Malartie, who served with me in the station as a volunteer."

It has been conceded by most all impartial historians, that a combination of circumstances conspired to make defeat inevitable. It has been charged upon the War Department, that failure to forward supplies had served to weaken and render inefficient, the soldiery; but while, shortly after the defeat, many harsh words were used in condemnation of St. Clair's alleged inefficiency; subsequent years, and further investigation, have served to vindicate the gallant General and polished gentleman, whose greatest fault was that he lacked experience in dealing with the red foe. The committee of the house of representatives appointed to investigate the matter, reported the causes of defeat to be: 1st: the delay in preparing estimates, etc., for the defense of the frontiers, and the late passage of the act (March 3d), for that purpose. 2nd: the delay caused by neglects in the quartermaster's department. 3d: the lateness of the season when the expedition was commenced. 4th: the want of discipline and experience in the troops; the report especially exonerating General St. Clair in connection with the disaster.

These defeats had by the American arms, first, under Harmar, followed by that of St. Clair, added to which were the destructive expeditions of Generals Scott and Wilkinson in the region of the lower Wabash, during the summer of 1791, now thoroughly awakened the

government to the importance of at once for all, thoroughly preparing an expedition against the northwestern Indians, which should be sweeping and final in its consequences, and in which should be decided the question of race supremacy in the savage infested regions.



CHAPTER IV.

WAYNE'S CAMPAIGN.

Of all superior officers of the war of the Revolution, none had inspired greater respect for his abilities as a thorough tactician, coupled with conscientiousness of plan of campaign, and brilliancy of execution thereof, than had Major General Anthony Wayne, the hero of Stony Point. In this emergency of later years the eyes of Washington were turned to this able General, whose experience and qualities were such as to peculiarly commend him for the work of a decisive Indian campaign.

In April 1792, General Wayne was appointed by President Washington, Commander in Chief of the Army of the United States. Much depended upon the character of the officer thus selected for command, for, upon his conduct largely depended whether the United States should become involved in an interminable war with the Indians of the northwest, as well as with the English, who still refused to evacuate the forts occupied by them within the Northwest territory.

While General Wayne had distinguished himself, signally, by his operations during the war of the revolution, yet the duties now about to be assumed were much more arduous than any in which he had ever before engaged, and the importance of the interests at stake in them, namely, the peaceful and permanent occupation of our national territory, between the Ohio and the Mississippi, by immigrants from other sections of the country, can hardly be exaggerated.

It will be remembered that the country north and west of the Ohio, had been ceded to the United States by Virginia and Connecticut, and that the territorial government, organized in 1787, was in operation. Every effort had been made to induce the people, especially those who had belonged to the now disbanded army of the United States, to occupy that region. As a result thereof, a large body of immigrants from all parts of the country, including old soldiers and their families, were induced to attempt new homes in this region, where they were constantly exposed to the cruel incursions of the Indian savages. It has been estimated that, between the years 1783 and 1790, more than fifteen hundred persons including women and children were slain.

The duty and policy of the Government in all the former campaigns

had been to secure safe asylum for these pioneers, and to crush out all lawlessness and barbarity. The atrocities of the Indians had been caused by their determination to resist all encroachments upon the lands west of the Ohio. These Indians of the northwest were the Shawanese and Delawares (generally called the Miamis), who had been driven from Pennsylvania and had taken refuge in Ohio after the capture of Du Quesne by Bouquet in 1763. As the allies of the English, during the Revolution, they had proved to be the bitterest enemies of the Americans.

When it finally was determined to subdue them, by military force, they, and their numerous allies, the Wyandots, the Miamis, Chippewas and the Pottawatomies had concentrated themselves into a powerful confederation in the northwest portion of Ohio, near the rivers, the Miami, or Maumee, then called the Miami-of-the-Lake, and Lake Erie, as before stated. Added to this they were encouraged by the Canadians and English in their forays against the settlers, and in their hostilities against the American Government. During the latter period it will be remembered, that treaty after treaty had been made with the Indians, until organized force became necessary, by reason of broken agreements, to subdue the tribes.

Shortly after St. Clair's memorable defeat, in October 1792, was held a great council of all the Indian tribes at Auglaize, at the confluence of the rivers Maumee and Auglaize, which, says one of the earlier historical accounts "was the largest Indian council of the times; that the Chiefs of all the tribes of the northwest were here, and representatives of the seven nations of Canada, and the twenty-seven nations beyond Canada; that Corn Planter and forty-eight Chiefs of the Six Nations repaired here; that three men of the Gora nations were in attendance, whom it took a whole season to travel to this point." "Besides these," says Corn Planter, "there were so many nations that we cannot tell the names of them.

At this council the question of peace or war was long and earnestly discussed. The Chief of the Shawanese being for war, and Red Jacket Chief for peace. This convention represented a larger territory than any convention of Indians we have any account of, before or since, being held on the American Continent. It seems to have been a natural intuition that led the red man of the forest to see that this was the strategic center of North America.

Thus it will be seen that the campaign about to be undertaken by Wayne, was one to be fought under most fearful odds. The Indian foe was frenzied at the thought of parting with any portion of the territory

north of the Ohio, and it had been formally decided at the council of war, referred to above, that the great question should be fought to a finish at the first opportunity.

Wayne's first duty was to reorganize the army. Under the new organization, the army was to consist of one Major-General, four Brigadier Generals, and their respective staffs, the necessary number of commissioned officers, and five thousand one hundred and twenty non-commissioned officers and privates, the whole to be denominated "The Legion of the United States."

The Legion was to be divided into four sub-legions, each to consist of the commissioned officers named, and one thousand two hundred and eighty non commissioned officers and privates, the previous army having been nearly annihilated, a new one was to be recruited.

Wayne was, as we have said, appointed to the command of this force, which was not yet raised, and was told by the Secretary of War at parting, in May 1792, by way, it is presumed, of encouragement and as an appeal to his pride, "that another defeat would be inexpressibly ruinous to the reputation of the Government." The only stipulation exacted by Wayne in assuming command of the expedition, was that he should be given sufficient time to thoroughly prepare and discipline his troops previous to his embarkation on the enterprise. He went to Pittsburg, in June 1792, to organize his "Legion," but at once found himself beset by difficulties, from lack of experienced officers, many of whom had been slain during the disastrous campaigns of the two former years. Hope of reward, for the soldiery joining the expedition, was out of the question; while the terrors of mutilation and cruelty practiced by the Indians upon their prisoners, and their savage mode of warfare generally, was not calculated to arouse enthusiasm among the soldiery.

Desertions were common, and panic frequently prevailed the ranks. The new recruits required a rigor of discipline, in training, long and thorough; but in the hands of Wayne, confidence was soon restored among the ranks and the efficiency of the troops increased in the same proportion.

Efforts were made during the summer and autumn of the same year to ascertain the feelings of the Indians, but it was plain to be seen by their defiant attitude, and the continuance of their depredations, that all negotiations for peaceful settlement of the troubles, were out of question. Toward the close of the summer, Wayne, therefore, moved his camp to a position on the Ohio river, about twenty seven miles below Pittsburg, giving to this camp the name of "Legionville."

At this location he remained during the winter, recruiting his

army, instructing it regularly in its military duties, and, in the meantime, striving in vain to conciliate the Indians.

Discipline, during this winter, was greatly improved. At the close of March he writes: "The progress that the troops have made, both in maneuvering and as marksmen, astonished the savages on St. Patrick's Day; and I am happy to inform you that the sons of that saint were perfectly sober and orderly, being out of the reach of whiskey, which baneful poison is prohibited from entering this camp, except as a component part of a ration, or a little for fatigue duty on some extraordinary occasion." His force at this time consisted of about twenty-five hundred men. The effect of good discipline under Wayne, had been to inspire them with confidence that the campaign about to be undertaken would bring success to their arms. Indicative of Wayne's confidence of ultimate success, was a statement in his acknowledgment made to the Secretary of War, of the receipt of certain flags and standards, which had been sent him for use, that, "They shall not be lost."

In May 1793, camp was moved to Fort Washington, near Cincinnati. General Knox, Secretary of War, was not slow to caution General Wayne against violent and uncalled for measures against the Indians. It seems to have been his hope and belief, that peace could be restored, and the horrors of Indian war averted. Nevertheless, Wayne relaxed none of his vigilance in training his forces to meet the red foe when the occasion for decisive action should come. He sent to Kentucky for mounted volunteers to aid; his own troops became more disciplined and efficient every day, and calmly awaited the result of negotiations.

As Wayne had expected, negotiations with the Indians were fruitless, their old claim that the Ohio river should be the boundary being tenaciously clung to. Again, General Knox wrote to Wayne in September 1793, in language indicating the extreme degree of anxiety which he felt as to the result of another conflict: "Every offer has been made to obtain peace by milder terms than the sword. The efforts have failed under circumstances which leave nothing for us to expect but war. Let it therefore be again, and for the last time, impressed deeply upon your mind, that as little as possible is to be hazarded, that your force is fully adequate to the object you purpose to effect, and that a defeat at the present time and under the present circumstances would be pernicious in the highest degree to the interests of our country."

Answering these faint hearted instructions, Wayne, characteristic ally, wrote the following letter to the Secretary of War from "Hobson's

Choice," his camp near Cincinnati: "I will advance tomorrow with the force I have in order to take up a position in front of Fort Jefferson, so as to keep the enemy in check by exciting a jealousy and apprehension for the safety of their women and children, until some favorable circumstance or opportunity may present to strike with effect. I pray you not to permit present appearances to cause too much anxiety in the mind of the President or yourself on account of this army. Knowing the critical situation of our infant nation, and feeling for the honor and reputation of the government (which I will support with my latest breath) you may rest assured that I will not commit the Legion unnecessarily. Unless more powerfully supported than I have reason to expect, I will content myself with taking a strong position in advance of fort Jefferson, and by exerting every power endeavor to protect the frontier and secure the posts and the army during the winter, or until I am favored with your further orders."

The promises of Wayne were strictly kept. On the 7th of October the army took up its march, and on the 13th it was encamped at a place which he named Fort Greenville. This post, which was six miles in advance of Fort Jefferson, and about eighty miles north of Cincinnati, on a branch of the Miami, he selected for his winter quarters and strongly fortified it. Thus, cut off from all communication from the government at Philadelphia, without orders, surrounded by hostile Indians, he passed the winter.

On Christmas day 1793, for the purpose of inuring his troops to danger, a large detachment was sent forward to the battle field where St. Clair was defeated in 1791, for the double purpose of performing the duty of interring the bones of the gallant soldiers who had offered up their lives there; and, to reclaim the lost ground by building upon the site, a fortress, which should be impregnable to the Indians. This fort was significantly named Fort Recovery.

Up to this time the Indians had shown no disposition to treat with the Americans, but after the erection of the fortification, they began to hint their willingness to negotiate for peace. Wayne placed no faith in their professions, but listened attentively to their proposals, and asked, only, that they deliver to him the captives they had made, as proof of their sincerity. This demand, being unanswered, closed the negotiations, and nothing more was heard in the nature of proposals for peace.

Meantime, difficulties were looming up before the American Government, in their relations with the English. It had become evident that the latter were giving the Indian foe encouragement, if not

active assistance, in their resistance of American claims. Strong garrisons were still maintained by the English, inside the American borders. Everything tended to the opinion that war was imminent, not only with the savage tribes, but with the English as well.

During this time, Wayne made himself acquainted with the situation, and prepared himself for any emergency which might arise. The course taken by him received the unqualified approval of the Government, in language unmistakable.

In June 1794, before the enemy had left their Winter quarters, a detachment which had acted as escort of provisions from Fort Recovery, fell into an ambush of Indians, about a mile from the Fort, and were driven back with great loss, the victors continuing the pursuit to the very gates, which they endeavored to enter with the fugitives. The siege continued nearly two days, and, we are informed in General Wayne's dispatch, that "There was a considerable number of armed white men in the rear, whom they frequently heard talking in our language, and encouraging the savages to persevere in the assault; their faces generally blacked." Other evidences of the Seneca British participation with the Indians on this occasion were numerous.

The prompt and decisive manner and movements of Wayne's troops at Fort Recovery, were such, that by the repulse given the enemy, the latter was given to understand that the General in command of the American army was one much more vigorous, and a very different man to deal with than St. Clair.

On July 26th, General Scott made junction with Wayne at Greenville, with sixteen hundred mounted Kentuckians; this Major-General Scott, was Wayne's old friend and comrade, of Monmouth.

Thus reinforced, he advanced on the 28th, from Greenville, taking up the track of the Indians, who had left it obviously marked in their rear, either in the haste in which they made it, or what is quite as probable, because they were desirous of luring the army still further into the wilderness.

A halt was made at Girty's town, at the crossing of the St. Mary's, twenty-four miles northerly from Greenville, and there was built Fort Adams, on the bank of that stream.

Taking up his march from this point, he advanced, without opposition, to a point within sight of the Auglaize, the great emporium of the enemy.

From all historical accounts it is learned that at this time, which

was prior to corn harvest, the valleys were waving with Indian corn, and presented a sight beautiful to behold. Cultivated fields and gardens appeared on every side, exhibiting the work of numerous hands; and a continuous village for several miles above and below the confluence of the Auglaize, and "Miami of the Lake" was apparent.

Having arrived in sight of the Auglaize on the evening of the 7th of August, on the morning of the 8th the army marched to the confluence of the two rivers, and there took possession of the site. A deserter, named Newman, had left the army at St. Mary's, pushed forward to this spot, and notified the Indians of the army's near approach; the enemy had thereupon precipitately fled from their home, the evening preceding Wayne's occupation of the site, without taking time to destroy their crops and other belongings.

Active preparations were at once begun to fortify this stronghold, and point of vantage.

The land at the confluence of the rivers stood, in that day, with reference to the mode of savage warfare, as a Gibraltar.

Work was begun upon the stockades and block houses the morning of August 9th, and was continued until their completion, August 17th. The fort consisted of four block houses, by way of bastions; the houses next to the Maumee having port holes on the three exterior sides, and a door and chimney on the side facing to the interior. There was a line of pickets on each side of the fort, connecting the block houses by their nearest angles; outside of the pickets and around the blockhouses, was a glacis and wall of earth, eight feet thick, sloping upward and outward from the feet of the pickets, supported by a log wall on the side of the ditch and by fascines, a wall of faggots, on the side next to the Auglaize.

A ditch, fifteen feet wide and eight feet deep, surrounded the whole work, except on the side toward the Auglaize.

The diagonal pickets, eleven feet long and one foot apart, were securely fastened to the log wall and extended over the ditch. There was a gateway, upon the side of the stockade facing the confluence of the rivers, and also one in the stockade opposite thereto. Surrounding the bastions and stockade was a bank of earth, four feet wide, left for a passage across the ditch. At each of the stockade gates was a falling gate, or drawbridge, which was raised and lowered by pulleys across the ditch, covering it or leaving it uncovered at pleasure.

Inside the stockades were buildings, for officers' quarters, upon the northerly side of the court; opposite which, upon the south south side of the interior of the court, were storehouses. A ditch, extending from

the gateway facing the confluence of the rivers, to the river, was dug eight feet deep, and was used as a passageway for procuring water from the river without exposing the carrier to the enemy.

A line of pickets, converging to meet at the outside of the ditch about half way of its length from the fort to the river, were placed at either angle of the outer embankment, corresponding with the two block houses nearest the two rivers.

The above description of the fort is substantially as appears in the memoranda of Benjamin Van Cleve, communicated by his son, John W. Van Cleve, of Dayton, to the *American Pioneer*.

After surveying the block houses, pickets, ditches and facines of the completed fortification, Wayne exclaimed: "I DEFY THE INDIANS, THE ENGLISH, AND ALL THE DEVILS IN HELL TO TAKE IT." General Scott, who happened at that instant to be standing at his side, remarked, "Then call it FORT DEFIANCE."

Wayne, in a letter to the Secretary of War, at this time stated: "Thus, sir, we have gained possession of the grand emporium of the hostile Indians of the west, without loss of blood. Very extensive and highly cultivated fields and gardens show the work of many hands. The margins of those beautiful rivers—the Miami of the Lake (or Maumee) and Auglaize—appeared like one continued village for miles both above and below this place; nor have I ever before beheld such fields of corn in any part of America, from Canada to Florida. We are now employed in building a strong stockade fort, with four good block houses, by way of bastions, at the confluence of the Auglaize and Maumee, which I have called Defiance."

While stopping at Fort Defiance, Wayne received full information of the movements of the Indians, and the assistance they were to derive from volunteers from Detroit and vicinity.

True to the letter and spirit of his instructions, received from Washington, a messenger was sent to the Indians to offer terms of friendship. The messenger was delayed, and Wayne, becoming impatient, moved forward, meeting the messenger upon the 16th, with the tidings that if the Americans would wait for ten days at the Grand Glaize (Fort Defiance) they, the Indians, would decide for peace or war.

On the 18th the army arrived at *Roche de Bouef*, south of the present site of Waterville, where they erected some light works as a place of deposit for their heavy baggage, and named the stockade Fort Deposit.

The army labored at their works during the 19th, and early on the morning of August 20th, moved forward to attack the Indians, who were encamped on the bank of the Maumee, at and around a hill called

"Presque Isle," about two miles south of the site of Maumee City, and about four miles south of the British Fort Miami. This fort had been occupied by a garrison sent from Detroit by the British the previous spring. No doubt remained in the mind of any, of the motives which led to the British occupation of this spot, taking place as it did eleven years after the country had been ceded to the United States, and at a time when a crisis was about being reached, bidding fair to result in open hostilities between the two governments.

A great majority of Indians were favorable to the British cause, for the seeming reason that their interests dictated that alliance. The British, aware of this disposition upon the part of the savages, were not slow to accept the services of the hostiles, to further their plans to maintain supremacy over the disputed boundary. The break of Indian supremacy meant the end of British pretensions. It was therefore of great moment to General Wayne, and this country, that his present steps should be taken with the utmost prudence, for another defeat such as had been the result of almost every previous campaign, would cement still more firmly the alliance between the British and the Indians.

Captain Wells, the wily, sagacious and intrepid warrior that he was; stolen in childhood from his Kentucky people; adopted later on by Chief Little Turtle; who had tendered his services to General Wayne, upon the formation of his army near Pittsburg in the fall of 1792, and piloted Wayne through the wilderness to the spot, felt sure that the Indians were seeking the active co operation and assistance of the British, and were endeavoring to engage battle under the guns of the fort. At one time Wells led his scouting party within so short distance of the British works as to ascertain that the Indians were actually encamped under their protection.

At this time General Wayne had under his command about three thousand men, and it is supposed the Indians were equally numerous, inasmuch as the league of hostiles embraced the whole northwestern frontier.

As he approached the position of the enemy with his army, he sent forward a battalion of mounted riflemen, which was ordered, in case of an attack, to make a retreat in feigned confusion, in orders to draw the Indians on to advantageous ground. This advance was soon made on the enemy, and, being fired upon, Waynes troops fell back, and, as was anticipated, was warmly pursued toward the main body.

It had been raining that morning, which rendered it impossible for the drums to indicate distinctly the concerted signals. The plan of Wayne to turn the right flank of the Indians, was therefore made

impossible, but the victory was complete. The whole Indian line, after a severe contest, gave way and fled in disorder. During the action, and subsequently, there does not seem to have been any intercourse between the British fort and the Indians; the gates were kept shut against them, and their slaughter was witnessed with apparent unconcern. After the battle the Americans devastated the fields and burned all the dwellings around the fort.

It is said that General Wayne had positive authority from President Washington, to take and demolish the British fort, but on reconnoitering it closely, discovering its strength, added to his own weakness in artillery, the General, with a prudence not always accorded to him, most judiciously declined an attack. In this daring reconnoiter the General was near falling a victim to his gallantry. He had ridden within eighty yards of the fort, accompanied by his Aid, Lieutenant William H. Harrison, and within point blank shot of its guns, when a disturbance was perceived on the platform of the parapet. It was subsequently learned that the cause of the disturbance was the thwarting of an attempt of a soldier, inside the garrison, to pick off General Wayne, by Major Campbell, the commandant, who drew his sword and threatened to cut the soldier down instantly, if such attempt was further made. The soldier was ordered arrested and punished. This incident gave rise to the following correspondence:

MIAMI (MAUMEE) RIVER, August 21st, 1794.

Sir:—

An army of the United States of America, said to be under your command, having taken post on the banks of the Miami (Maumee) for upwards of the last twenty-four hours, almost within the reach of the guns of this fort, being a post belonging to His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, occupied by His Majesty's troops, and which I have the honor to command, it becomes my duty to inform myself, as speedily as possible, in what light I am to view your making such near approaches to this garrison. I have no hesitation, on my part, to say, that I know of no war existing between Great Britain and America.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

WILLIAM CAMPBELL.

Major 24th Reg't commanding a British post on the banks of the Miami.
To Major General Wayne, etc.

CAMP ON THE BANKS OF THE MIAMI, (MAUMEE) August 21st, 1794.

SIR:—I have received your letter of this date, requiring from me the motives which have moved the army under my command to the position they at present occupy, far within the acknowledged jurisdiction of the United States of America. Without questioning the authority, or the propriety, sir, of your interrogatory, I think I may, without breach of decorum, observe to you, that were you entitled to an answer, the most full and satisfactory one was announced to you from the muzzles of my small arms, yesterday morning, in the action against the horde of savages in the vicinity of your post, which terminated gloriously to the American arms; but, had it continued until the Indians, etc., were driven under the influence of the post and guns you mention, they would not have much impeded the pro-

gress of the victorious army under my command, as no such post was established at the commencement of the present war, between the Indians and the United States.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, Your most obedient and very humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE,

Major-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Federal Army,
To Major William Campbell, etc.

FORT MIAMI, August 22nd, 1794

SIR:—Although your letter of yesterday's date fully authorizes me to any act of hostility against the army of the United States in this neighborhood, under your command, yet, still anxious to prevent that dreadful decision which, perhaps, is not intended to be appealed to by either of our countries, I have forbore, for these two days past, to resent those insults you have offered to the British flag flying at this port, by approaching it within pistol shot of my works, not only singly, but in numbers with arms in their hands. Neither is it my wish to wage war with individuals; but should you, after this, continue to approach my post, in the threatening manner you are this moment doing, my indispensable duty to my King and country, and the honor of my profession, will oblige me to have recourse to those measures, which thousands of other nation may hereafter have cause to regret, and which I solemnly appeal to God, I have used my utmost efforts to arrest.

I have the honor to be, sir, with much respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

WILLIAM CAMPBELL,

Major 24th Reg't. Comd'g. at Fort Miami.

To Major-General Wayne, etc.

CAMP, BANKS OF THE MIAMI, 22nd August, 1794.

SIR:—In your letter of the 21st, you declare "I have no hesitation on my part, to say that I know of no war existing between Great Britain and America." I, on my part, declare the same, and the only cause I have, to entertain a contrary idea at present is the hostile act you are now in commission of, i. e., by recently taking post far within the well known and acknowledged limits of the United States, and erecting a fortification in the heart of the settlements of the Indian tribes now at war with the United States. This, sir, appears to be an act of the highest aggression, and destructive to the peace and interest of the Union. Hence it becomes my duty to desire, and I do hereby desire and demand, in the name of the President of the United States, that you immediately desist from any further act of hostility or aggression, by forbearing to fortify, and by withdrawing the troops, artillery, and stores, under your orders and direction forthwith, and removing to the nearest post occupied by his Britannic Majesty's troops at the peace of 1783, and which you, will be permitted to do unimpeded by the troops under my command.

I am, with very great respect, sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE.

To Major William Campbell, etc.

FORT MIAMI, 22nd August, 1794.

SIR:—I have this moment to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date; in answer to which I have only to say, that being placed here in the command of a British post, and acting in a military capacity only, I cannot enter into any discussion either on the right or impropriety of my occupying my present position. These are matters that I conceive will be best left to the ambassadors of our different nations.

Having said this much, permit me to inform you that I certainly will not abandon this post, at the summons of any power whatever, until I receive orders for that purpose from those I have the honor to serve under, or the fortune of war should oblige me. I must still adhere, sir, to the purport of my letter this morning, to desire that your army, or individuals belonging to it, will not approach within reach of my cannon, without expecting the

consequences attending it.

Although I have said, in the former part of my letter, that my situation here is totally military, yet, let me add, sir, that I am much deceived, if His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, had not a post on this river, at and prior to the period you mention.

I have the honor to be, sir, with the greatest respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

WILLIAM CAMPBELL,

Major 24th Reg't. Comd'g. at Fort Miami.

To Major-General Wayne, etc.

The report of Wayne concerning this battle made to the Secretary of War is as follows:—

“GRAND GLAIZE, 28th August, 1794.

SIR:—It is with infinite pleasure that I now announce to you the brilliant success of the Federal Army under my command in a general action with the combined force of the hostile Indians and a considerable number of the volunteers and militia of Detroit (Canadians) on the 20th, inst., on the banks of the Miamis, in the vicinity of the British post and garrison at the foot of the rapids.

The army advanced from this place on the 15th, inst., and arrived at Roche de-Bout on the 18th. On the 19th we were employed in making a temporary post for the reception of our stores and baggage, and in reconnoitering the position of the enemy, who were encamped behind a thick and bushy wood and the British fort. At eight o'clock on the morning of the 20th, the army again advanced in columns agreeably to the standing order of march; the legion on the right flank covered by the Miamis, one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left under Brigadier-General Todd, and the other in the rear under Brigadier-General Barber; a select battalion of mounted volunteers moved in front of the Legion commanded by Major Price who was directed to keep sufficiently advanced,—so as to give timely notice to form in case of action—it being yet undetermined whether the Indians would decide for peace or for war. After advancing about five miles Major Price's Corps received so severe a fire from the enemy, who were secreted in the woods and in the high grass, as to compel him to retreat.

The Legion was immediately formed in two lines principally in a close thick wood, which extended for miles on our left and for a very considerable distance in front, the ground being covered with old fallen timber probably occasioned by a tornado which rendered it impracticable for cavalry to act with effect, and afforded the enemy the most favorable covert for their savage mode of warfare. They were formed in three lines within supporting distance of each other, and extending nearly two miles at right angles with the river.

I soon discovered from the weight of the fire and the extent of their line that the enemy were in full force in front in possession of their favorite ground, and endeavoring to turn our left flank, I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance to support the first, and directed Major General Scott to gain and turn the right flank of the savages with the whole of the mounted volunteers by a circuitous route. At the same time I ordered the front line to advance with trailed arms, and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and when up to deliver a close and well directed fire on their backs followed by a brisk charge so as not to give time to load again. I also ordered Captain Miss (sic) Campbell who commanded the legionary cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next the river, and which afforded a favorable field for that corps to act in.

All these orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude, but such was the impetuosity of the charge by the first line of infantry that the Indians and Canadian militia and volunteers were driven from all their coverts in so short a time that although every exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the legion, and by Generals Scott, Todd and Barber of the Mounted Volunteers to gain their proper positions yet but a part of each

could get up in season to participate in the action the enemy being driven in the course of an hour more than two miles through the thick woods already mentioned by less than one-half of their numbers.

From every account the enemy amounted to 2000 combatants, and the troops actually engaged against them were short of 900. This horde of savages with their allies abandoned themselves to flight, and dispersed with terror and dismay leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle which terminated under the influence of the guns of the British garrison, as you will perceive by the enclosed correspondence between Major Campbell, the Commandant, and myself upon the occasion.

The bravery and conduct of every officer belonging to the army from the Generals down to the Ensigns merit my highest approbation. There were however some whose rank and situation placed their conduct in a very conspicuous point of view, and which I observed with pleasure and the most lively gratitude; among whom I must beg leave to mention Brigadier Gen. Wilkinson and Col. Hamtramck, the commandants of the right and left wings of the Legion, whose brave example inspired the troops. To these I must add the names of my faithful and gallant aides-de-camp. Captains DeButts and T. Lewis, and Lieutenant Harrison, who with Adjutant-General Major Mills rendered me most essential service by communicating my orders in every direction, and by their conduct and bravery exciting the troops to press for victory. Lieutenant Covington upon whom the command of the cavalry devolved cut down two savages with his own hand, and Lieutenant Webb one in turning to the enemy's left flank.

The wounds received by Captains Slough and Prior, and Lieutenants Campbell and Smith of the legionary infantry, by Captain VanRenselaer of the dragoons, and Captain Rawlins, Lieutenant McKenney and Ensign Duncan of the Mounted Volunteers bear honorable testimony of their bravery and conduct.

Captains H. Lewis and Brock with their companies of light infantry had to sustain an unequal fire for some time which they supported with fortitude. In fact every officer and soldier who had an opportunity to come into action displayed that true bravery which will always insure success.

And here permit me to declare that I never discovered more true spirit and anxiety for action than appeared to pervade the whole of the Mounted Volunteers, and I am well persuaded that had the enemy maintained their favorite ground for one-half hour longer they would have most severely felt the prowess of that corps.

But whilst I pay this first tribute to the living, I must not forget the gallant dead, among whom we have to lament the early death of those worthy and brave officers Captain Miss Campbell of the Dragoons, and Lieutenant Fowles of the light infantry of the legion who fell in the first charge.

Enclosed is a particular return of the killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy was more than double that of the Federal army. The woods were strewed for a considerable distance with the dead bodies of the Indians and their white auxiliaries, the latter armed with British muskets and bayonets.

We remained three days and three nights on the banks of the Miamis in front of the field of battle during which time all the houses and corn were consumed and destroyed for a considerable distance both above and below Fort Miamis, as well as within pistol shot of that garrison, who were compelled to remain tacit spectators of this general devastation and conflagration; among which were the houses, stores and property of Colonel M'Kee, the British Indian agent, and principal stimulator of the war now existing between the United States and the savages.

The army returned to this place on the 27th by easy marches, laying waste the villages and the corn fields for about fifty miles on each side of the Miamis. There remain yet a number of villages and a great quantity of corn to be consumed or destroyed upon Le Glaize and the Miamis above this place which will be effected in the course of a few days.

In the interim we shall improve Fort Defiance, and as soon as the escort returns with the necessary supplies from Greenville and Fort Recovery the army will proceed to the Miami villages in order to accomplish the object of the campaign.

It is however not improbable that the enemy may make one more desperate effort against the army, as it is said that a reinforcement was hourly expected at Fort Miamis from Niagara as well as numerous tribes of Indians living on the margin and islands of the lakes. This is a business rather to be wished for than dreaded, whilst the army remains in force. Their numbers will only tend to confuse the savages, and the victory will only be more complete and decisive, and which eventually may insure a permanent and happy peace.

Under these impressions I have the honor to be, etc.,

ANTHONY WAYNE.

From this battle-field which was named "Fallen Timbers," on account of the large quantity of timber lying prostrate upon the ground as the effect of a cyclone in former years, General Wayne retired to the confluence of Swan Creek, with the Maumee River and erected there a stockade below the mouth of Swan Creek and garrisoned it; which garrison was maintained at that point until the evacuation of all the British posts in the northwest which occurred in pursuance of Jay's treaty.

On the 27th of March the troops took up their return march for Fort Defiance, devastating every village and field in the march. Arriving at Fort Defiance, they proceeded to further strengthen that fortress, rendering it much more substantial.

On September 14th, the army moved to the Miami villages upon the St. Mary's and St. Joseph's rivers, where a fort, long in contemplation, was constructed and upon October 22nd, 1794, was placed under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Hamtramck. It was christened Fort Wayne, the name now borne by the beautiful city, in Allen county, Indiana, which includes the site of the Fort within its boundaries.

October 28th, the object of his campaign having been fully achieved, General Wayne started on his return with the main body of regulars to Fort Greenville where in the following year he rendered himself as conspicuous in statesmanship and diplomacy as in war, by consummating the celebrated "treaty of Greenville" giving peace to the northwest territory.

Much valuable and interesting history of Fort Defiance might be here given, but that lack of space forbids. That it was a veritable Garden of Eden to the savage, who here found fish and game in abundance; a soil, of fertility capable of producing all that the heart might desire; located upon the rivers, the surfaces of which were so readily skimmed by the canoe, making transportation easy, cannot be doubted. Nor is it to be wondered at, that the northwestern frontier

was so bitterly fought for, and its possession given up by the Indian only after repeated engagements with the encroaching whites.

It cannot be doubted that the battle fought upon the banks of the Maumee, below Fort Defiance, was the last grand stand ever made by the Indians in the Northwest territory, having for its object a settlement of the question of race supremacy. The best written account we have of Defiance, at this period, is that of Oliver M. Spencer. His statements are made from observations during his captivity among the Indian tribes sometime prior to 1791.

Says Spencer:—

“On this high ground (since the site of Fort Defiance, erected by General Wayne in 1794), extending from the Maumee a quarter of a mile up the Auglaize, about two hundred yards in width, was an open space, on the west and south of which were oak woods, with hazel undergrowth. Within this opening, a few hundred yards above the point, on the steep high bank of the Auglaize, were five or six cabins and log houses, inhabited principally by Indian traders.

The most northerly, a large hewed log-house, divided below into three apartments, was occupied as a warehouse, store and dwelling by George Ironside, the most wealthy and influential of the traders on the point. Next to his were the houses of Pirault (Pero), a French baker and McKenzie, a Scot, who, in addition to merchandising, followed the occupation of a silversmith, exchanging with the Indians his broaches, ear-drops and other silver ornaments, at an enormous profit, for skins and furs. Still farther up were several other families of French and English; and two American prisoners, Henry Ball, a soldier taken at St. Clair's defeat, and his wife, Polly Meadows, captured at the same time, were allowed to live here, and by labor to pay their masters the price of their ransom; he by boating to the rapids of the Maumee, and she by washing and sewing. Fronting the house of Ironside, and about fifty yards from the bank, was a small stockade, enclosing two hewed log houses, one of which was occupied by James Girty (brother of Simon), the other, occasionally by McKee and Elliot, British Indian agents, living at Detroit.

From this station I had a fine view of the large village more than a mile south, on the east side of the Auglaize, of Blue Jackets town, and of the Maumee river for several miles below, and of the extensive prairie covered with corn, directly opposite, and forming together a very handsome landscape.”

An interesting account of Indian habits and customs of that period is given by John Brickell, of Pittsburg, who was also stolen in February 1791, and adopted by an Indian named Whingy Pooshies, with whom he lived four years.

“In his narrative he says he was treated very kindly, every way as one of themselves, and had every opportunity of learning their manners, customs and religion, and thinks he has been influenced to good more from what he learned among these Indians than from what he has learned from amongst people of his own color. Honesty, bravery and hospitality were cardinal virtues among them. When a company of strangers came to a town and encamp, they are not asked if they want anything, but a runner starts out proclaiming “strangers have arrived.” On this every family provide of the best they have, and take it to the strangers, for which not a thought is had of anything being received in return, and when they start out they are helped on their journey. Worshipping the Great Spirit whom they call Mantou, “never” says Brickell “even on one occasion did I know of their using the name irreverently” and they had no term in their language by which they could swear

profanely. Their young honor the aged. The first corn that is fit to use is made a feast offering. The first game that is taken on a hunting expedition is dressed whole without the breaking of a bone, with the head, ears and hoof on, and being cooked whole, all eat of it, and if any is left it is entirely burnt up; and in respect to things clean and unclean they follow the Jewish custom. They have no public worship, except the feasts, but frequently observe family worship, in which they sing and pray. They believe in a resurrection after death, and in future rewards and punishments. Their cruel treatment of their enemies in war seems but the acting out of the precept, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and blood for blood." Young Brickell was trained to hunt and much of his time was out on hunting expeditions. These were generally to the streams of the Maumee in summer, but in winter extended to the Scioto, the Hocking and Licking rivers. During his four years sojourn here, two very important events occurred—St. Clair's defeat in 1791, and Wayne's victory, August 20th, 1794.

"He gives some interesting items in regard to Wayne's victory. The following winter his people had to winter at the mouth of Swan Creek, on the site of Toledo. He says: "We were entirely dependent upon the British, and they did not halt supply us. The starving and sickly condition of the Indians made them very impatient, and they became exasperated at the British. It was finally concluded to send a flag to Fort Defiance in order to make a treaty with the Americans. This was successful. Our men found the Americans ready to treat, and they agreed upon an exchange of prisoners. I saw nine white prisoners exchanged for nine Indians. I was left, there being no Indian to give for me. Patton, Johnston, Sloan and Mrs. Baker, were four of the nine; the names of the others I do not recollect."

"On the breaking up of spring we all went to Fort Defiance, and arriving on the shore opposite, we saluted the Fort with a round of rifles, and they shot a cannon thirteen times. We then encamped on the spot. On the same day Whingy Pooshies told me I must go over to the fort. The children hung around me, crying, and asked me if I was going to leave them. I told them I did not know. When we got over to the fort and were seated with the officers, Whingy Pooshies told me to stand up, which I did. He then arose and addressed me in about these words, "My son, these are men the same color with yourself, and some of your kin may be here, or they may be a great way off. You have lived a long time with us. I call on you to say if I have not been a father to you; if I have not used you as a father would a son?" I said, "You have used me as well as a father could use a son." He said "I am glad you say so. You have lived long with me; you have hunted for me, but your treaty says you must be free. If you choose to go with people of your own color I have no right to say a word; but if you choose to stay with me your people have no right to speak. Now reflect on it and take your choice, and tell us as soon as you make up your mind." I was silent for a few minutes, in which time I seemed to think of most everything. I thought of the children I had just left crying; I thought of the Indians I was attached to, and I thought of my people whom I remembered, and this latter thought predominated, and I said, "I will go with my kin." The old man then said "I have raised you; I have learned you to hunt; you are a good hunter. You have been better to me than my own sons. I am now getting old, and I cannot hunt. I thought you would be a support to my old age. I leaned on you as on a staff. Now it is broken—you are going to leave me, and I have no right to say a word, but I am ruined." He then sank back in tears to his seat. I heartily joined him in his tears, parted with him, and have never seen or heard of him since.

From the earliest recorded accounts, Defiance was famous for its abundance of apple trees, and the monstrous proportions of the same. Says one writer:—

"When first known there was an abundance of apple trees at Defiance. The bank of

the Auglaize at one spot was lined with these trees, and there were single trees scattered about in various places. It is supposed they were planted by French missionaries and traders during the French dominion on the lakes, and cared for afterwards by the Indian trappers and traders. The fruit of these trees was better than that of the so-called natural trees of the present time: they grew larger, and had a more agreeable taste. The stocks were more like the forest trees; higher to the branches, longer to the limbs than the grafted trees of the present day. Probably the shade and contracted clearings in which they were grown had much to do with this large growth. There was then no civilization to bring in borers, worms and curculio, and so the trees thrived without hindrance. The "County History" published in 1883, from which the above was derived says, "Defiance has been famed for the possession of a monstrous apple tree. Strangers have seldom failed to visit it, to measure its proportions, and speculate upon its age and origin. It stands on the narrow bottom, on the north side of the Maumee, and nearly opposite the old Fort. It has never failed, in the knowledge of present settlers, in producing a crop of very excellent apples. One large branch, however, has, of late years been broken off by the storms, which has much marred its proportions; the remainder is yet healthy and prospering. Before the town was laid out there were many trees, equally thrifty and not less in size, in this vicinity." The famed apple tree was destroyed by a gale in the fall of 1886. It was judged to be one hundred and fifty years old and was much dilapidated. It has produced in some seasons two hundred bushels of apples.

Defiance has ever been a great trading point from the earliest period, due to its advantageous location. It has a history to be proud of.



CHAPTER V.

GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE.

As the youth foreshadows the man, so was the brilliant career of Wayne, foretold in his early years.

A mistaken conception has been held by many people that the term "Mad Anthony," as applied to Wayne was a fitting term by which to designate a man whose doings savored of recklessness and daring.

Nothing could be further from the truth, than an attempt to characterize this man, whose career was full of success, a madman."

It has been well said by one author that "the very brilliancy of Wayne's reputation as a fighting General has somewhat blinded the eyes of his countrymen to those military qualities which he possessed in common with all great soldiers"—* * * "it is only necessary to say that no important strategical movement was undertaken by Washington, while Wayne was under his command, without consulting him. His illustrious Chief knew that he could trust him thoroughly for the execution of his part in any place assigned to him, for his heart was in his work; every faculty of his mind was bent to its accomplishment, and he never disappointed those who trusted him."

Anthony Wayne came of good stock. The Wayne family were of English origin and at the time of the Revolution had, for three generations been residents of Chester county Pennsylvania.

During the reign of Charles II, the General's grandfather had moved from Yorkshire to an estate in County Wicklow, Ireland. Being a protestant, he joined the forces of William of Orange in his contest with King James II. He also was commandant of dragoons in the service of King William at the battle of the Boyne, and distinguished himself by gallant conduct.

In 1722, his grandfather gave up his estate in Ireland and came to Pennsylvania. With him he brought four sons, who were educated men, and considerable means.

Two years later the grandfather purchased about sixteen hundred acres of land, in Chester county, Pennsylvania, for an estate, which he named Waynesborough.

After the death of Wayne's ancestor this estate was divided among his sons; the father of the General, Isaac, receiving as his share, about five hundred acres.

General Wayne's father is said to have been a man "of strong mind and of great industry and enterprise." He represented Chester county in the Provincial Assembly several times, and was a commissioned officer in the provincial service, in which he distinguished himself in expeditions against the Indians. He died in 1774, leaving one son and two daughters.

Anthony Wayne was borne at Waynesborough, January 1st, 1745. He had a sterling force of character inherited from his mother, and a military bent, tinged with love of adventure, a birth-right received from his father.

He is said to have been a manly and self-reliant boy, not given to study, but with a mind bent upon planning of military schemes, in his boyish way; His ambition being to devote himself to the life of a soldier. He well nigh distracted his uncle, to whom he was sent to school. The latter reported to the young soldier's father a discouraging state of affairs; said he, "What he may be best qualified for I know not. He may perhaps make a soldier. He has already distracted the brains of two thirds of the boys under my charge by rehearsals of battles, sieges, etc. During noon, in place of the usual games and amusements, he has the boys employed in throwing up redoubts, skirmishing, etc."

When sixteen years of age his father sent him to the Academy in Philadelphia, with the hope that he might take kindly to the classical studies. This attempt to "bend the twig" does not seem to have been successful; his whole mind seeming to be turned in the direction of mathematics and a soldier's profession.

But, a soldier's profession does not seem to have been open to him, on account of lack of influence with the government. He therefore adopted the profession of a Surveyor. This business gave him, in part, what he was so fond of, adventure. The training gained by him in this profession, in the way of exposure, hardships and service, developed in him physical strength, and discipline which makes a mind full of resources and ready for any contingency.

Before Wayne was twenty one years old he was employed by Dr. Franklin and his associates to survey and colonize two tracts of wild lands purchased by them, in Nova Scotia. This was a most important mission for the young man and was executed ably and with success.

He returned to Pennsylvania and was married, May 1766, to the daughter of Mr. Bartholemew of Philadelphia. Young, as he at this time was, he grew at once into the confidence and affection of the people, and became a recognized leader, whose counsel was sought.

At the first murmur of resistance to English tyranny, his voice was heard in counsel and was heeded by those who knew him.

His love for the land of his nativity at this time shines forth with a brilliancy of patriotic fervor. We find him quick to deny the right of encroachment by the British ministry; at once leaping to the position of a leader of the forces of his own immediate section. He was, in July 1774, chairman of a county committee, which proposed resolutions condemning the course of the ministry, and was also chairman of a committee appointed to prepare recommendations to the Assembly in reference to military organizations, and a non-importation agreement.

He was also a member of the Provincial Convention, which met in January, 1775, to encourage domestic manufactures, in anticipation of the effect of the non-importation of English goods, and was the author of the proposition in May 1775, that the freemen of the county should be organized for military purposes.

In June, of the same year, he became one of the members of the Provincial Committee of Safety; in July a member of the Provincial Convention; and in October a member of the Committee of Correspondence. He was put forward in December by his friends as a proper person to represent his county in the Assembly for the next year.

During the whole of his busy year, and while engaged in these methods of organizing the opposition, he was occupied also in recruiting his army in Chester for Continental service, in pursuance of an act of Congress, calling on Pennsylvania for her quota of troops. By the close of the year the ranks of this regiment (4th batallion) were filled, and on recommendation of the Committee of Safety he was, on the 3d of January, 1776, appointed its Colonel, and Francis Johnston its Lieutenant-Colonel.

Tradition has it that Wayne was a man of marked and attractive appearance, something out of the commonplace, possessing what in a later day has been termed "personal magnetism," in a high degree; his education was above the ordinary; added to a strong force of character, his superiority was at once recognized and admitted. In addition to this, Wayne was possessed of a private fortune of considerable amount, which rendered him independent; consequently, it could not be claimed of him, in any event, that the rapid promotions which he achieved were obtained through any sordid motive, and for mere pecuniary advantage.

It has also been said of him that he was a man of a considerable degree of vanity, and given to a boastful, though harmless form of speech, which in a person of lesser ability might have been considered a weakness; and it undoubtedly is the case that his habit of speaking

in strong terms and boastful manner, added to his impetuosity, had much to do with the origin of the term "Mad Anthony," applied to him so generally at the time, as well as now.

During the winter of 1776 Wayne was engaged preparing his men for active service, and bringing them under proper discipline. It is said that he punished desertion severely and governed his men with strictness. In subsequent years this enforcement of rigid discipline had everything to do with the efficiency of the armed forces under his command, and brought to him in almost every instance success of arms.

The first campaign in which the regiment of Colonel Wayne was engaged was the expedition to Canada in the spring and summer of 1776, forming part of the brigade of Pennsylvania commanded by General William Thompson. It was sent, by order of Congress, to reinforce the army under Generals Montgomery and Arnold, which had been repulsed at Quebec. It was expected that the invasion of the Province would tend to enlist to the American Arms, large numbers of discontented inhabitants thereof; the hope was in a great measure disappointed, the result was that the troops were repulsed from the walls of Quebec, leaving no trace of their work, except a remembrance of their heroic valor.

A second expedition was subsequently undertaken, the object of which was to reinforce the troops in that Province; a portion of Wayne's regiment was hurried forward by companies, and in such an unprepared condition that it was not until the first week in May, upon reaching Albany that they were provided with arms. This engagement upon the River Sorel resulted in another defeat to our arms, but in which Wayne played a conspicuous, heroic and honorable part by helping to cover the retreat of our soldiery and make possible the escape from what appeared to be utter annihilation.

This engagement brought great credit to Wayne as a soldier, and showed to the Government that there was at least one man in that army with the stuff of a true General in him. The result of the operations in Canada having established Wayne's reputation as an energetic officer, led to his appointment on the 18th of November, by General Schuyler to the command of the Fort at Ticonderoga, with its dependencies, the second most important military post in the country. The garrison at this point consisted of about twenty-five hundred men, who were under his command during the winter. His labors, trials and anxiety while stationed at this post were many and great; but the firmness and determination of the man, under enforced

quiet, which was against the inclination of Wayne, threw out in strong light those qualities which made him great.

While Wayne was in command of the garrison at Ticonderoga, he was appointed, on the 21st of February 1777, Brigadier-General of the army. He had become very tired of the life of inaction led by him at the latter post, and was very desirous of serving immediately under Washington, in active service. On the 12th of April, 1777, he joined Washington at Morristown and was placed in command of a brigade known as the "Pennsylvania Line." Following his appointment, shortly occurred the engagements at Brandywine, Germantown, and the experiences at Valley Forge, in which Wayne signally distinguished himself by the masterly manner in which he managed the troops under his command.

Early in June 1778, it became apparent that the British were making ready to evacuate Philadelphia, as it was feared by them that the French fleet would, shortly, in pursuance of our treaty with France, blockade the English fleet in the Delaware. This was subsequently followed by the evacuation; they crossed the Delaware on the 18th of June before Gloucester, taking the route eastward across Jersey, encumbered by heavy baggage and belongings. Washington crossed the Delaware above Trenton on the 21st, and prepared to dispute the passage of the Raritan, should the enemy attempt to cross that river with his baggage train. It was found, however, that Sir Henry Clinton, the British commander kept to the Southward and was moving in the direction of Sandy Hook. Wayne paralleled his route, and on the 26th of June the armies were but a few miles from each other.

A council of war was held upon the 24th of June, at Hopewell, five miles from Princeton, at which questions as to future movements were submitted by the Commander-in-Chief to his general officers. Prominent in the council were Wayne, Cadwallader, Lafayette and Green. Upon this occasion the advice of Wayne was taken by Washington, it being to attack at least the rear guard of Clinton's army, by which the train was escorted, in a series of pretended manœuvres. In this engagement at Monmouth, Wayne's division took most prominent part; the flower of the British army was stricken by his masterly and timely efforts, in the face of great odds.

Shortly after this Wayne retired from command of the "Pennsylvania Line" and was called to assume command of what was known as the "New Light Infantry Corps." This was the celebrated corps which Wayne led at his charge upon Stony Point. It had a short life but became famous for its discipline, and illustrious for its deeds of

valor.

In June 1779, General Washington was extremely desirous of recapturing two forts, one at Stony Point on the western side of the Hudson River, and the other at Verplanck's Point upon the opposite or eastern side, which had been taken by the British from the Americans about the First of June 1779. These forts were at the southern extremity of the Highlands, and gave control in their present condition into the hands of the enemy, from West Point and its dependencies, northward.

The Fort at Stony Point was built on a rocky promontory on the west side of the Hudson, about three hundred and fifty feet high. Three sides of this Promontory were surrounded by water, and on the fourth a swamp, or morass, which was not passable at high tide, separated it from the land. It was guarded by three redoubts and protected by a double *abatis* of logs which extended across the peninsula. The cannon were so arranged as to enfilade any approach to the inner works supposed to be practicable. It had a garrison of about five hundred men under Colonel Johnston, who was regarded as a highly capable officer.

At this time, the larger part of Washington's army was encamped in Smith's Clove, about ten miles back of West Point, and headquarters were at New Windsor. Wayne's Light Infantry Corps which was detailed for the purpose of assaulting the works, it was intended should consist of eight battalions of one hundred and sixty-four men each, under the command of a Brigadier-General.

Wayne's opinion concerning the attack of this stronghold was that storming the defenses was not likely to be successful, and that the only manner it could be taken was by surprise, that is, by a sudden and overwhelming rush of the assailants, which, overcoming all obstacles should drive the defenders into the interior of the fort, and overcome them before they had time to rally, or opportunity for resistance. In this was involved a large element of danger, but if the plan could be made to succeed, it was worth the effort.

A general reconnoissance was made of the place by General Wayne aided by Colonel Butler and Major Stewart.

Wayne's plans, based upon the facts obtained from this reconnoissance, were subsequently approved by Washington, and contemplated the form of capture as above indicated.

On the 14th of July, General Washington authorized Wayne to make the assault on the next night, should the conditions be favorable. As showing the cheerful disposition of Wayne in the midst of

difficulties, and the eagerness with which he invited danger, on the next day he wrote to General Washington; "I am most pleased at the prospect of the day, and have the most happy presages of the fortunes of the night."

The troops marched during the evening of the 15th of July from Sandy Beach to Stony Point, a distance of nearly fourteen miles over bad roads; they formed in half platoons at the bottom of the hill, each column preceded by a detachment of one hundred and fifty men, and that again by what was denominated "The Forlorn Hope," consisting of twenty men as a vanguard.

At half past eleven o'clock they formed close by the foot of the hill, when, silent but determined, and full of ardor, they prepared to undertake their most perilous enterprise. From a letter written at a house near by, by Wayne, it is evident he did not expect to survive the assault, but his courage never faltered; at half past eleven the word to advance was given.

As General Wayne was moving at the head of his column, having just climbed over the first *abalis*, on his way forward, a musket shot coming from a body of men on the hill above inflicted a scalp wound about two inches long. He immediately fell and was a short time dazed and stunned. Quickly recovering his senses, however, he raised himself on one knee, shouting, "Forward, my brave fellows! forward!" and then turning to two of his aids-de-camp he begged them to carry him to the interior where he wished to die should his wound prove mortal. When his men heard that their commander had been mortally wounded, they dashed forward, climbed the rocks with bayonets ready to charge, and bore down all further opposition.

Colonel Fleury who led the right column, soon reached the flag staff on the bastion of the Fort, and hauled down the English standard. He was quickly followed by two sergeants of the Virginia and one of the Pennsylvania regiments, all of whom had been severely wounded. It is said that the movements for the storming of the works had been so accurately timed and the plans had been so perfectly ordered and carried out, that both columns of assault, from different portions of the promontory met at the same moment of time at the fortress.

The successful attack upon Stony Point by General Wayne produced a sensation throughout the country. Congratulations poured in upon him from all quarters. Congress immediately upon the receipt of the news adopted resolutions, thanking General Wayne for his brave, prudent and soldierly conduct, and included in its thanks,

all of Wayne's forces; it was ordered that a gold medal commemorative of his gallant conduct should be presented to General Wayne, and silver medals to some of his aids, and that others of the subalterns should be promoted.

The subsequent campaign of Wayne in Virginia and at Yorktown as well as in Georgia brought further renown to Wayne as a soldier, and in the month of July 1783, being quite ill and his services not being so imperatively needed he retired to civil life. Here he was again honored by his people by election to office.

After a considerable period of retirement and the pursuit of the peaceful paths of civil life upon his estates, in April 1792, he was appointed by Washington as Commander in-Chief of the army of the United States, and undertook the Indian campaign outlined in the preceding pages.

After the Indian campaign of 1794, he consummated the treaty of Greenville.

He laid down his life at the early age of fifty-two at Presque Isle on Lake Erie.

APPENDIX.

*Names of Contributors of Logs Used in the Re-construction of Fort
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